

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 GABORO 00953 031929Z

ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 IO-13 AID-05 /086 W

-----031936Z 114300 /43

R 280600Z APR 77

FM AMEMBASSY GABORONE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9840

INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L GABORONE 0953

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINS, RH, BC, MZ, ZA, AO, TZ

SUBJECT: MINISTER MOGWE ON ZIMBABWE

REF: GABORONE 926

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: DURING AN APRIL 21 CALL I MADE ON BOTSWANA EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTER ARCHIE MOGWE, HE ATTRIBUTED TO FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS THE ONLY SIGNIFICANT PRESSURE ON RHO-DESIAN NATIONALISTS TO UNITY. HE ACKNOWLEDGED LACK OF REAL PROGRESS TOWARD UNITY WITHIN PATRIOTIC FRONT. GOB STILL SEES MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE AS "IMPORTANT FOR A SETTLEMENT" AND STRONGLY FAVORS PRE-INDEPENDENCE ELECTION. OWEN'S IDEA OF CONSTITUTION FIRST OFFERS "CONCRETE" SUBJECT FOR DISCUSSION. MOGWE DOUBTS THAT NKOMO IS "TRUE SOCIALIST", CONSIDERS MUZOREWA "OBSESSED" ABOUT LEADERSHIP AND BELIEVES MUGABE HAS LITTLE FUTURE. END SUMMARY.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 GABORO 00953 031929Z

2. I CALLED APRIL 21 ON ARCHIE MOGWE, BOTSWANA'S MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, WHO HAD RETURNED SEVERAL DAYS EARLIER FROM MEETINGS IN NEW DELHI AND FIJI. MOGWE CONFIRMED THAT OWEN MISSION NOT DISCUSSED IN LUANDA. HOWEVER, HE WAS IN EXPANSIVE MOOD AND MADE FOLLOWING OBSERVATIONS ABOUT ZIMBABWE.

3. NATIONALIST UNITY: MOGWE REITERATED THAT MAJOR OBJECTIVE OF FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS HAS BEEN TO "UNITE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE". HE BRIEFLY TRACED HISTORY OF FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS' ROLE AND OBSERVED THAT WITHOUT PRESSURE FROM THE PRESIDENTS THE RHODESIAN NATIONALISTS "WOULD NEVER EVEN HAVE GONE THROUGH THE MOTIONS" OF UNIFYING, FIRST UNDER ANC AND LATER AS PF. SITUATION HAS NOW REACHED A POINT WHERE PRESIDENTS ARE "NOT DEALING WITH MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE", ALTHOUGH MUZOREWA DELEGATIONS VISIT BOTSWANA. NOW ONLY PF ATTENDS FRONTLINE MEETINGS. DESPITE VENEER OF COOPERATION AT GENEVA, THERE HAS BEEN "NO PROGRESS TOWARD REAL UNIFICATION" WITHIN PF, EITHER MILITARILY OR POLITICALLY. PF LEADERS TELL PRESIDENTS THAT THIS IS DUE TO "HUMAN PROBLEMS"; MOGWE DESCRIBED IT AS "BAD BLOOD" AMONG GUERRILLAS AFTER LAST YEAR'S FIGHTING IN CAMPS. MOGWE'S "BIGGEST WORRY" IS WHETHER NKOMO CAN GENUINELY BE RECONCILED WITH MUGABE. HE SAID NKOMO HAD JOINED WITH MUGABE TO CALM DOWN THE LATTER'S "WILD CHAPS", I. E., HIS FOLLOWERS. AT GENEVA CONFERENCE, MOGWE NOTED THAT WHILE NKOMO WAS AGREEING PUBLICLY WITH MUGABE, HE OFTEN USED THE GOB DELEGATION TO GET MUGABE TO CHANGE HIS MIND.

4. PF VERSUS MUZOREWA/SITHOLE: SITUATION HAS NOW REACHED A POINT, MOGWE SAID, WHERE PRESIDENTS DO NOT DEAL WITH MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE. ONLY PF ATTENDS FRONTLINE MEETINGS. BOTSWANA WOULD LIKE PF TO UNDERSTAND THAT MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE ARE "IMPORTANT FOR A SETTLEMENT EVEN IF THEY HAVE NO IDENTIFIABLE FIGHTING MEN". IN MOGWE'S OPINION THEY HAVE POLITICAL SUPPORTERS AND MUST HAVE "SOME PF FIGHTERS" WHO OWE THEM ALLEGIANCE. MOGWE VOICED THE FEAR THAT IF NKOMO "INSTALLS HIMSELF BY FORCE",  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 GABORO 00953 031929Z

MUZOREWA FOLLOWERS WOULD FLEE TO BOTSWANA WHICH WOULD BECOME "CUL-DE-SAC". ZAMBIA EITHER WOULD NOT ACCEPT UANC PEOPLE OR WOULD RETURN THEM TO ZIMBABWE.

5. ELECTIONS. GOB WANTS TO SEE ELECTIONS IN ZIMBABWE TO GIVE PEOPLE OPPORTUNITY TO CHOOSE WHETHER THEY WANT "FIGHTER OR POLITICIAN" AS THEIR LEADER. UK MADE IT CLEAR IN GENEVA THAT THERE WOULD BE NO INDEPENDENCE WITHOUT ELECTIONS; BRITISH "MUST STAND FIRM" ON THIS. BRITAIN SHOULD NOT BACK MUZOREWA REFERENDUM IDEA BECAUSE UK WOULD BE SEEN TO BE "075-TING FORWARD THEIR OWN MAN". NKOMO AND HIS FOLLOWERS SEE REFERENDUM AS MUZOREWA'S PLAN TO INSTALL HIMSELF AS HEAD OF GOVERNMENT.

6. OWEN MISSION. MOGWE SAID ONE ADVANTAGE OF OWEN PROPOSALS IS THAT DRAFTING A CONSTITUTION WOULD BE DEALING WITH SOMETHING CONCRETE. "STICKIER ISSUES", SUCH AS WHO WOULD HEAD INTERIM GOVERNMENT, COULD BE DEALT WITH LATER. MOGWE FEELS THAT U.S. "HAS A ROLE" DESPITE NKOMO/MUGABE OPINIONS TO THE

CONTRARY. MOGWE WAS "VERY SORRY" PF LEADERS MADE THEIR PUBLIC STATEMENT IN LUSAKA CRITICAL OF U.S. INVOLVEMENT.

7. NATIONALIST LEADERS:

A. NKOMO: MOGWE HAS "MIXED FEELINGS" ABOUT NKOMO. THERE IS NO DOUBT ABOUT HIS AMBITION; HE WANTS TO BE "THE" LEADER AND "WILL STOP AT NOTHING" IN HIS QUEST. HOWEVER, MOGWE DOUBTS NKOMO IS "TRUE SOCIALIST". ALTHOUGH HE MAY BE "RIDING ON THE BACKS OF THE SOVIETS AND CUBANS", NKOMO LOVES LUXURIES SUCH AS LIMOUSINES. IN MOGWE'S OPINION, NKOMO HAS GROWN IN CONFIDENCE IN GREAT PART DUE TO "BIG GAINS" IN ZAPU ARMY WHICH MAY HAVE DOUBLED SINCE GENEVA. NKOMO MILITARY STRENGTH MAY NOW BE EVEN WITH MUGABE'S.

B. MUZOREWA: LEADERSHIP IS AN "OBSESSION" WITH MUZOREWA. INSTEAD OF PUTTING FORWARD REFERENDUM PLAN, THE BISHOP SHOULD SUPPORT IDEA OF AN ELECTION JUST BEFORE INDEPENDENCE. BY CURRENT ACTIONS, MUZOREWA IS ACTUALLY DELAYING INDEPENDENCE. CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 GABORO 00953 031929Z

C. MUGABE: MUGABE HAS "NO POLITICAL BASE". MOGWE DOUBTS WHETHER MUGABE HAS ANY FUTURE OTHER THAN TO BE "MOUTHPIECE" OF FIGHTING MEN. NORLAND

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** PERSONAL OPINION, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, NATIONALISTS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Sent Date:** 28-Apr-1977 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Date:** 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1977GABORO00953  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D770155-0148  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** GABORONE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1977/newtext/t19770411/aaaaaikj.tel  
**Line Count:** 143  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** 652a3e9c-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ACTION AF  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** 77 GABORONE 926  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 10-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 2669869  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** MINISTER MOGWE ON ZIMBABWE  
**TAGS:** PFOR, PINS, RH, BC, MZ, ZA, AO, TZ, (MOGWE, AM)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/652a3e9c-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009